The Language of Architecture in Early Modern English Poetry

Research Thesis

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Logan Householder

The Ohio State University

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Project Advisor: Professor Alan B. Farmer, Department of English

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Section I: "Esoteric Names": Developing the Renaissance Language of Architecture and Poetry.

"Architectural writing is not like the writing of history or of poetry," begins the preface to Vitruvius' fifth book of his 1st century BCE treatise, *De Architectura* (63).[1] Strange as it may be coming from such a significant work of early architectural writing, this observation seems rather straightforward in itself: architectural writing obviously differs from historical writing and poetry chiefly because it is commonly understood to be a descriptive rather than narrative or lyric form. Still, Vitruvius is careful to outline the exact points of interest in each art, writing that it is the "ever-changing anticipation of learning something new" that propels the readers interest in a history (63). Meanwhile, of poetry, Vitruvius writes that "it is the elegant placement of words, as well as the varieties of expression…that carry our interest along to the end of the composition without misstep" (63). Architectural writing, at least for Vitruvius, has neither the narrative structure of history nor the "varieties of expression" to carry readers interest. Instead, architectural writing is described as the victim of "terms that…inflict the obscurity of their unfamiliar language on our senses" (63). Vitruvius then goes on to write that such architectural words are "neither obvious in themselves nor are their names clear from common use" (63). Clearly, for Vitruvius, the problem of architectural writing is a problem of language. Further complicating the relationship between architectural writing and poetry, the "meters, the feet" and the "varieties of expression" that Vitruvius sees in poetry juxtapose naturally with the "proportions" and "esoteric names" of architectural writing (63). Where poetry's meters and feet depend on precisely measured syllabic units, so too do the Vitruvian proportions by which an

[1] Vitruvius, Pollio, Ingrid D. Rowland, Thomas N. Howe, and Michael Dewar. *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Print.

architect designs his building. Sharing its intense devotion to specific wording and precise proportions, poetry is thus envisioned as a natural foil to architecture dating back to its earliest formal treatise.

While this relationship between poetry and architecture may surprise the modern reader, there exists a great deal of evidence that Renaissance poets and architects saw their respective arts in conversation. For example, writing after the death of his contemporary and personal friend, Ben Jonson, the satirist John Taylor acknowledges the poet's "exact…Geometrick skill."[2] The satirist goes on to write that Jonson "well knew Architectures grounds/ In pedestals, in angles, squares, or roundes." Strange as these attributions may seem, Taylor was not alone in his observation that Jonson, perhaps more so than any other English poet of the period, seemed to have a fascinatingly architectural style. Centuries later, in 1963, Harry Levin would similarly describe Jonson as a "craftsman" who fit words and phrases together in much the same way that he had learned to fit bricks as a young man.[3] Fueling the scholarly fascination with the architectural and craftsman-like aspects of Jonson's poetry may be his associations with the court architect Inigo Jones, who had worked alongside the poet in the Jacobean court. The working relationship between Jones and Jonson was a source of frequent tension at court, and has attracted a body of scholarship attempting to determine the precise aesthetic and ideological differences that incited their rivalry.[4] Though consensus on the issue has been scarce, arguments often propose a clash between the respective places of poetry and architecture as what Gail Kern Paster calls "heroic" or monumental arts.[5] Others have proposed a kind of cultural clash between

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[2] Jonson, Ben. *Ben Jonson*. pp. 425.
[3] Levin, Harry. "An Introduction to Ben Jonson." pp. 43.
[4] For just a few examples of such scholarship, see Gordon, D. J. "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones." pp. 152–78; Jordan, Elizabeth T. "Inigo Jones and the Architecture of Poetry." pp. 280–319; Paster, Gail Kern. "Ben Jonson and the Uses of Architecture." pp. 306–20.
[5] Paster, Gail Kern. "Ben Jonson and the Uses of Architecture." pp. 311–13.

Jonson and Jones, with Jones attempting to import the foreign and vaguely Italian principles of architecture directly into the English court. Still others have seen the feud between Jones and Jonson as the simple product of close proximity, stressful working conditions, and incompatible tempers. What is clear, however, is that the feud between poet and architect spurred both artists to investigate their rival art further. Inigo Jones dabbled in poetry, writing an explicit jab towards Jonson in one of his masques.[6] Jonson wrote some of his own verse satirizing Jones, but he also set about studying the principles of classical architecture; in fact, Jonson's library contained a heavily annotated copy of *De Architectura*.[7]

The connection between Jonson and Jones is of interest to scholars in part because of the vast amount of written and documented evidence that surrounds their rivalry, but poetic engagement with architectural theories and models was not unique to Jonson. Rather, poets from Edmund Spenser to John Milton were regularly engaged with the language and theory of architecture. The House of Pride, Castle Alma, and Pandemonium are just a few examples of poetry that relies on the language of architecture to invest a building with metaphorical meaning. Even John Donne, a poet frequently noted for his interiority, writes that poets should "build in sonnets pretty rooms" ("The Canonization," 32). It can be argued that poets like Ben Jonson and Andrew Marvell do just that, as they work within the genre of the country house poem to construct poetically imagined and metaphorically loaded versions of real structures. In the process, Jonson and Marvell use the language of architecture to accent their creation, and to reinvent buildings with troubled architectural or personal histories.

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[6] Gordon, D. J. "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones." pp. 162.
[7] McPherson, David. "Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia: An Annotated Catalogue." pp. 97-8.

Still, before poets like Jonson could use the principles of architecture to such powerful effect in their own writing, English architects and theorists had to answer the Vitruvian concern about architecture's clumsy and awkward language. In fact, for as much difficulty as Vitruvius had in writing about architecture in Latin, the problems of translating the "unfamiliar language" of architecture for an English Renaissance audience were magnified by a language barrier that went beyond simply clarifying abstruse terminology. And while there is no shortage of scholars who would credit Inigo Jones with the bulk of this translation, he being among the first architects to practice in the classical style, John Shute's architectural treatise, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563) clearly represents the first attempt to establish an English architectural language and tradition. Shute's treatise was not, after all, a simple compilation of well-known continental theory, but it was instead an act of extended translation of both continental and classical ideas that had no previous basis in England or in English writing. In order to even begin his discussion of the nature of architectural orders, symmetry, and other principles, Shute first had to develop an entirely new English vocabulary. At the most basic level, this means that Shute's usage of "Architecture" in his title is the first use of the word in English, as cited by the *OED*, but more minute details like the use of "order" to describe an architectural design or "caryatid" to denote the image of a female body holding an entablature were also novel definitions for Shute's 16th century audience.[8] Despite Shute's efforts to import architecture and its vocabulary, however, the association between architecture and foreignness remained in England well into the 17th century. In fact, the identification of architecture as a foreign artform was so strong that Inigo Jones, writing just over 100 years after Shute on the

[8] See *OED Online* "architecture, n 1"; "order, n 9a"; "caryatid, n." Shute also first imported the term "architect" and "architrave," and was among the first to use more theoretical terms like "symmetry" or "Doric" to describe particular aspects of a building.

construction of Stonehenge, maintained that "whatsoever…Historians have written of the Druides, certainly, Stoneheng could not be builded by them, in regard, I find no mention, they were at any time either studious in Architecture… or skilfull in any thing else conducing thereunto" (B2r).[9] Rather, Jones proposes that Stonehenge must be Roman in origin because "as an admired and magnificent building, who more magnificent then the Romans" could build such a structure (K2r). Even to Inigo Jones, and English architect himself, architecture was conceived of as an artform that was classical and even Italian in its origins, and not rooted in any sense of British history.

Further complicating Shute's project were the uncertain notions about what architecture itself should be and do; for his part, Vitruvius himself often seems unsure of the answer to this question. It would, after all, be far too simple to call *De Architectura* an instruction manual for the architect, even in moments when it quite clearly purports to be just that. In his description of Temple construction, for example, Vitruvius gives exact measurements for epistyles and columns ranging anywhere from 15-35 feet in length. On the other hand, he writes that the foundation of a Temple requires as much solid ground "as seems reasonable" (51-52). If the goal of Vitruvius' writing truly is to instruct future architects on Temple construction, his priorities at times seem wildly misplaced. And while it could instead be called an architectural treatise, *De Architectura* reads more like an encyclopedic compendium of everything even remotely related to architecture—from the construction of sun-dials and water-organs to the selection of building sites and the procurement of timber—than any sort of systematic argument.

[9] Jones, Inigo. *The most notable antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng on Salisbvry plain restored by Inigo Jones*. London, 1655.

Due to this definitional uncertainty dating back to Vitruvius, Shute could not merely create a vocabulary; he also had to define the parameters of an entirely new and foreign artform. Thus, *The First and Chief Groundes* was part lexicon, part theoretical treatise, and part builder's manual. More than a simple translation of Vitruvius, Shute's treatise took on the multi-faceted task of defining architecture, developing a vocabulary to discuss this new artform, and molding a classical and continental form to suite English needs and ideals. In particular, the most obvious object of translation in Shute's treatise is the concept of architecture itself. Even to the canonical writers like Vitruvius and his successor, Sebastiano Serlio, from whom Shute sources much of his material, this problem of the parameters and definitions of architecture was a vexed question. For his part, Vitruvius could hardly settle on any one disciplinary field that defined architecture, writing in *De Architectura*, that the architect should be "an experienced draftsman, well versed in geometry, familiar with history, a diligent student of philosophy, know music, have some acquaintance with medicine, understand the rulings of legal experts, and have a clear grasp of astronomy and the ways of Heaven" (22). In this list, Vitruvius means to delineate the entire range of disciplines that could, or do, pertain to architecture. Still, the reader is often left at least somewhat unsure of the direct relationship between the many skills that Vitruvius believes an architect should have, and the parameters of architecture as an artform. For his part, Jonson takes specific aim at this Vitruvian claim, writing in a rather lengthy attack on the architect:

> why, he is the man of men,
>
> For a Professor. He designes, he drawes,
>
> He paints, he carues, he builds, he fortifies,
>
> Makes Citadels of curious foule, and fish,

Some he dry-ditches, some motes round with broths;

Mounts marrow-bones; cuts fifty-angled custards;

Reares bulwarke pies; and, for his outer workes,

He raiseth ramparts of immortall crust;

And teacheth all the tacticks at one dinner:

What rankes, what files, to put his dishes in;

The whole Art Militarie! Then he knowes

The influence of the starres, vpon his meates;

And all their seasons, tempers, qualities,

And so, to fit his relishes, and sauces!

He'has Nature in a pot! 'boue all the Chemists,

Or bare-breechd brethren of the Rosie-Crosse!

He is an Architect, an Inginer,

A Souldier, a Physitian, a Philosopher;

A generall Mathematician![10]

That Jonson intended to satire Jones and other Vitruvian architects seems quite clear; he had, afterall, underlined and noted on the corresponding quotation by Vitruvius in his own copy of *De*

[10] Jonson, Ben. *Works*. pp. 784-5.

Architectura.[11] Furthermore, the mixture of practical skills like math alongside more esoteric topics like cooking pokes fun at the Vitruvian idea that the architect should be well versed in subjects as disparate as music, medicine, and history.

Jonson was not alone in his skeptical view of Vitruvian architectural theory: this mixture of relatively practical subjects alongside the more philosophical facets of architecture was clearly a point of confusion for architects as well. The Vitruvian definition of architecture is further complicated by the tenuous position of architecture as a form that depends on functionality while also—by its relation to philosophy, pictorial, and sculptural arts—making claims for a more purely aesthetic evaluation. Leon Batista Alberti noted the vexed relationship between architect and building in his *De re aedificatoria* (1452), as he laments the fact that an architect will inevitably design something that he cannot possibly create by himself (111-112).[12] Unlike a painter or writer, who both conceive and construct their works with relatively few limitations, the architect is necessarily constricted by the ability of others, the resources available, and even the economic environment and available capital. Vitruvius recognized the inherent duality of the architect as a pragmatic builder and philosophical aesthete, and struggled in his own attempt to classify architects as either one or the other. Ultimately, Vitruvius settles for a profoundly unhelpful equivocation, writing that architecture is "born both of practice and of reason" (21). Similarly, in *The First and Chief Groundes,* Shute resists the notion that architecture is either purely philosophical or mechanical, defining architecture as the "the arte and trade to rayse vp and make excellent edifices and buildings" (A3v).

[11] Gordon, D. J. "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones." pp. 163.
[12] Alberti, Leon Batista. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, Robert Tavernor. MIT Press, 1991.

Of course, there exists an obvious parallel between art and reason—and practice and trade—as both pairs seem to point towards a general separation between the craftsman aspects of construction and the artistic vision of the architect himself. Vitruvius expands further on these definitions, defining the practice of architecture as the physical construction of the building, and reason as the ability to "explain…completed works skillfully and systematically" (21). For his part, Vitruvius does often seem more partial to the role of reason in architecture and, when he writes on the construction of cities, it should seem rather obvious that he does not intend to suggest that the architect should be directly involved in the construction of every building he designs. This separation, however, was tenuous, and the ideal extent of the architect's involvement in construction varied between architectural theorists and interpreters of Vitruvius during the 15th and 16th centuries. For this reason, it is perhaps best to think of conceptions of the architect on a spectrum, with theorists who believe that the architect should be completely removed from the physical construction of a building at one extreme, and those who believe that the architect should be physically laying bricks and digging foundations at the other. In one of the more obvious examples of the workmanlike extreme, the 12th century philosopher Hugh of St.Victor classified architecture not as any type of art, but rather as a subset of fortification.[13] Even figures more commonly associated with Renaissance architecture like Sebastiano Serlio could lean towards a practice-oriented theory of architecture. For example, in his *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva* (1619), Serlio often conflates the role of the architect with more practice-oriented roles like workman or surveyor (D2r).[14] Such tendencies to combine the work of builders, craftsmen, and architects were obviously not unusual among theorists of the Renaissance, and this conflation is exemplified in the connection between architecture and the

[13] McClung, William Alexander. "The Matter of Metaphor: Literary Myths of Construction." pp. 279.
[14] Serlio, Sebastiano. *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva*. Venice, 1619.

sculptural arts. As Alina Payne demonstrates, a variety of smaller building projects that include constructs like altars, tombs, chapels, and fountains are tenuously grouped together under the German term "kleinarchitektur" or "small architecture." For early Renaissance architects like Alberti and Brunelleschi, these smaller projects, alongside more traditional sculptural arts, were often foundational and a continuing source of inspiration for larger works.[15]

In light of these competing definitions of architecture, Shute's own equivocation about the exact nature of architecture should be understood as something of centrist position. Certainly, the mere assertion that there is an aesthetic as well as functional value to architecture is enough to set Shute apart from earlier critics like Hugh St. Victor. Adding to the impression that Shute cares more about the art of architecture than the practicalities of construction is the fact that his treatise focuses almost exclusively on the Vitruvian orders, an extremely metaphorical taxonomic system for classifying pillars of various proportions which had little to offer architects beyond aesthetic considerations. In her analysis of English architectural treatises, Anne Myers even goes so far as to suggest that Shute "was quite possibly more interested in the engraving techniques of this richly illustrated work than he was in the construction of buildings."[16] This claim is unlikely, and almost certainly impossible to prove, but it does point to the larger issue of the practicality of Shute's treatise. Myers is correct, for instance, in asserting that Shute is rather myopically focused on the orders. It is also true that Shute's treatise neither deals with real buildings, nor does it serve as a particularly instructive guide for those who wish to build them. Rather, *The First and Chief Groundes* serves as an introductory aesthetic treatise, and Shute's definition of architecture as both an "arte and trade" provides a framework for future English

[15] Payne, Alina. "Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture." pp. 372-3. Payne is an excellent source more generally for information pertaining to the development of large form architecture and its relation to sculpture.
[16] Myers, Anne. *Literature and architecture in early modern England.* pp. 4.

writers and artists to think about architecture in relation to their own arts. By navigating architecture away from the its utilitarian origins, and in working to develop a language that mitigates some of architecture's more "esoteric names," Shute's treatise acts as a bridge, opening the possibility for a poetic and metaphorical language that would develop around architecture in the later 16th and 17th centuries.

This essay intends to follow the development of Shute's architectural language from the "esoteric names" that Vitruvius describes through to the work of English poets from Spenser to Milton. In doing so, the essay will explore the metaphorical language initially developed by Vitruvius, and the way that English translator's and theorists imparted their own metaphorical meanings onto the language of architect. The foundations of Vitruvian architecture, with its tendency to use of densely metaphorical language and reliance on comparisons between human and architectural characteristics, provided Renaissance poets with a rich theoretical basis on which to ground their own architecturally-inspired writings. The first section will thus treat the development and importation of this language specifically, following the original Vitruvian imagery and vocabulary through continental architects like Serlio and Blum before turning to the complicated translation of architecture into English. In doing so, this section will also set out some of the basic architectural terms that Vitruvius used, and explain Vitruvian principles like harmony, order, and proportion that would later be adopted by English poets.

The second section of this essay will then turn towards the relatively early adoption of architectural terminology by two English poets: Edmund Spenser and George Herbert. Both Spenser and Herbert use the language of architecture similarly, relying on architectural vocabulary to invest their poems with a metaphorical language, while ultimately rejecting the physicality of architecture. In Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, this paradoxical treatment of

architecture manifests itself in the inconsistent usage of architectural vocabulary. Buildings like Castle Alma are shown to be both physically incoherent—unable to function as a real building—and also incoherent in design, forming a mismatch of architectural principles that privileges the metaphorical impact of individual architectural pieces over the building as a whole. Herbert's collection of lyric poetry, *The Temple*, functions similarly, as architectural language is used for symbolic effect even while the metaphorical temple is shown to be an impossible building. However, where Spenser seems to value the metaphorical language of architecture at the expense of coherence, Herbert explicitly rejects coherence altogether.

Finally, this essay will examine the later tradition of the country house poem in relation to the developing architectural language. This section will begin by focusing on two exemplars of the genre: Ben Jonson's "To Penshurst" and Andrew Marvell's "Upon Appleton House." Both Jonson and Marvell rely on architectural language in much the same way as Spenser and Herbert, but they also have a vested interest in representing the houses in a realistic, coherent way. Whereas Spenser and Herbert's architecture seems to disintegrate into the realm of platonic ideas upon closer reading, Appleton and Penshurst remain resolutely physical throughout the duration of the poem. In addition, both Penshurst and Appleton cohere to realistic Vitruvian principles of design, at times seeming almost perfect examples of the Vitruvian principles of harmony, order, and proportion. These exemplars are compared against Pandemonium in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, a structure that seems to embody many of the same architectural impulses of the country house genre. As a kind of inverse country house, Pandemonium draws on much of the same Vitruvian language and theory as Penshurst or Appleton, but with radically different ends. Ultimately, by following architecture from its incoherent usage in Spenser and Herbert, through to the more physical and coherent work of Jonson and Marvell, and even to its perversion in

Milton, this essay intends to open up new ways of reading Renaissance poetry in the context of architecture's metaphorical language.

Section II: "Not Vnfit nor Vnaptlie by me Termed": Inventing an English Architectural Vocabulary.

While Shute's definition of architecture in *The First and Chief Groundes* allows for an aesthetic consideration of architecture in theory, a language for describing architecture was necessary to solidify its place alongside more traditional arts like poetry and painting. Responding to the Vitruvian complaint that architecture did not have the "elegant…words" and "varieties of expression" of an artform like poetry, Shute and the English architectural writers who followed him were tasked with providing English definitions of architectural words to a country with no classical architectural tradition of its own.[17] Fortunately, Shute was not left entirely to his own imagination in creating this language. In fact, that Shute was essentially working in translation is evident from his own acknowledgment that architecture is "not vnfite nor vnaptlie by me termed in Englishe" (A3v). But, how Shute arrived at these translations—and from what sources he was getting his information—remains very much in question. For his part, Shute writes that *The First and Chief Groundes* was largely the product of his own trips to Italy, where his information was "gathered by the sight of ye Monumentes" (A2r). However, the theoretical knowledge of topics like symmetry and order that Shute relies on throughout his treatise indicates that he must have also read works by earlier architectural theorists. One possible source for some of Shute's more theoretical writing is Leon Battista Alberti, a Florentine philosopher and architect, and the writer of the first true architectural treatise in

[17] This is not to suggest that there was no architectural tradition in the British Isles. As Richard Gem has shown, there was in fact a remarkable similarity between pre-Norman church constructions in England and Roman architecture of the time. Some churches in England were actually so similar to buildings in Rome that the 7th century hagiographer Æddi Stephanus wrote that he had "heard of no church built in like manner this side of the alps." For more information on the development of Anglo-Saxon architecture, see Gem, Richard. "Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture*."* pp. 1–18.

Renaissance Italy: *De Re Aedificatoria* (1485). Certainly, it seems likely that Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria* was a strong influence on Shute,[18] but there are enough differences in their approaches to discount any notion of Alberti as a primary source text for *The First and Chiefe Groundes*. Alberti writes from a more familiar aesthetic background that emphasizes the "venustas" or beauty of a work while Shute seems much more indebted to classical architecture, most obviously the writings of Vitruvius.[19]

Undoubtedly, both approaches fell well short of being a useful guide to actually building anything, but Shute's treatise was certainly more dogmatic in its adaption of Vitruvian theory. The Vitruvian orders, in particular, were a major focus of Shute's treatise, and their importance reverberates more broadly throughout classical architectural theory. Of course, this type of extreme focus also meant that *The First and Chief Groundes* was necessarily much narrower in scope than *De Architectura,* but Shute substituted breadth for an intense devotion to perhaps the most fundamental concept of Vitruvian architecture: the orders themselves. As Vaughan Hart has shown, the detailed depiction of Vitruvian orders was perhaps Shute's greatest and most influential contribution to the English architectural tradition, and the addition of illustrations and diagrams was a unique innovation that neither Alberti nor Vitruvius had included in their own works.[20]

The orders are, without question, Vitruvius' greatest contribution to architectural theory; however, before they were simplified and visualized by Shute, the orders were also among the

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[18] See Pears, Richard. "Battle of the Styles? Classical and Gothic Architecture in Seventeenth-Century North-East England." pp. 79 for a partial account of the similarities between Alberti and Shute's treatises. Pears locates a similarity in the way both authors treat architecture through a theoretical rather than purely practical lens.
[19] Cast, David. "Speaking of Architecture: The Evolution of a Vocabulary in Vasari, Jones, and Sir John Vanbrugh." pp. 180-1.
[20] Hart, Vaughan. "From Virgin to Courtesan in Early English Vitruvian Books." pp. 297–320.

most difficult and obscure topics discussed in *De Architectura*. In perhaps the clearest modern definition, Joseph Rykwert writes "The column and the beam that it carries, when they are combined so that they may be recognized (however approximately) as belonging to a definite type, are called an order."[21] Vitruvius outlines 4 orders: the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Tuscan. The first 3 are obviously Greek in origin, owing their names to specific regions of the Aegean peninsula. The Tuscan is a later Roman invention that would also be followed by the much later addition of the Composite order, as described by Sebastiano Serlio in 1549.[22] The differences among these "types" can be determined by examining the proportions of their construction, as well as some combination of ornamental features that denote an order like the Corinthian, which will always be adorned with a flowered capital. In addition, the combination of these proportions and ornamental features was often seen as emblematic of a personality or allegorical intent behind the orders, the Tuscan or Doric being associated with Mars, while the comparatively slender and smooth Ionic draws comparisons to Hera, and the slender and playful Corinthian to Aphrodite.[23]

Shute's attention to the orders is interesting for a number of reasons. Most obviously, it establishes the English architectural tradition's relation to Vitruvius, who might otherwise be the type of Latinate and Italianate figure that the Protestant English tradition would like to keep at arm's length. For this reason, Shute's choice to focus on the orders was a smart decision. With their basis in precise numbers, measurements, and proportions, the Vitruvian orders were an easy concept to import into Protestant cultures that held the numbers and ratios of nature in high

[21] Rykwert, Joseph. "Order in Building." pp. 5.
[22] Ibid.
[23] See Fig. 1

regard.[24] For example, writing for a German speaking audience, Hans Blum's 1551 treatise, *The booke of fiue collumnes of architecture*, similarly made obvious its focus on the orders. Blum's treatise was successful enough to be translated and reprinted in English in 1601, but it ultimately covered much the same ground as Shute's had done nearly 50 years prior, and Blum's edition lacked some of the more richly imagistic qualities that made Shute's work so appealing.[25] *The booke of fiue collumnes* was also notably shorter than Shute's treatise, and spent far less time discussing the history of, or otherwise justifying, architecture.

Despite their slightly different chronologies and content, Blum and Shute seem to be writing for comparable audiences, and they also present the orders in strikingly similar ways. First and foremost, both writers accompany written descriptions of the orders with diagrams, and the bulk of the writing is presented in the labels for various cornices, entablatures, and other architectural features. Both writers also pay great attention to the ratios of pillars, spending the majority of their analysis outlining the 7-to-9 ratios of the Ionic and Doric orders, for example. This focus on numerical values was not new to architectural thought—Alberti wrote of the "kind of numbers…wherein Nature shows herself most excellent and complete" in *De Re Aedificatoria*—but the extended focus on this kind of numerology at the expense of all else betrays a larger Protestant skepticism towards the artificial that provokes a turn toward the perceived divinity of numbers.[26]

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[24] For a full account of the extent of numerological criticism in the Renaissance, see Fowler, Alastair. *Spenser And The Numbers of Time*. pp 237-58.
[25] Blum, Hans. *The Booke of five collumnes of architecture, called Tusca, Ionica, Corinthia & Composita*. London, 1601.
[26] Cellauro, Louis. "Daniele Barbaro and Vitruvius: The Architectural Theory of a Renaissance Humanist and Patron." pp. 293–329.

Moreso than Italian writers like Alberti and Brunelleschi, Shute did not ignore Vitruvius' advice that an architect should be "well versed in geometry," but within that focus on the mathematics of architecture, he also found room to address the more conventionally aesthetic features of construction. In addition to describing the individual pieces and ratios that make up the pillars, Shute used his illustrations to draw attention to the more conceptual elements of the orders—something that Vitruvius might call the "reason" of architecture. In its broadest application, this kind of focus meant that individual orders began to take on human shapes and characteristics. Of course, the anthropomorphization of architectural features did in fact have a basis in Vitruvian writings, as the Doric order "came to exhibit the proportion, soundness and attractiveness of the male form" while the Ionic represented woman's "slenderness, ornamentation and proportion" (55). The orders also drew on the anthropomorphic qualities of a mixture of Greek and Roman Gods, as the Doric and its derivative Tuscan were associated with warlike Mars, while the proportions of the Ionic were thought to correspond to a Goddess like Hera, and the relative playfulness of the Corinthian was likened to Aphrodite. Shute then adapted this idea and took it even further, writing that the Doric order was founded from the proportion of "the foote of a stronge fashioned manne" (2Bv). Shute reinforced this anthropomorphic description with elaborate back-stories that traced the origin of the Corinthian order to a young girl's flower basket, and the addition of images that explicitly compared the orders to human forms that they supposedly portrayed.[27] Shute's tendency to relate human and architectural forms led naturally to an association between the orders and human personality traits. The Doric, for example, was described as "comely and also stronge" while the Corinthian was associated with virginal femininity (2Br). These character traits were in part drawn from the

[27] See Fig 1.

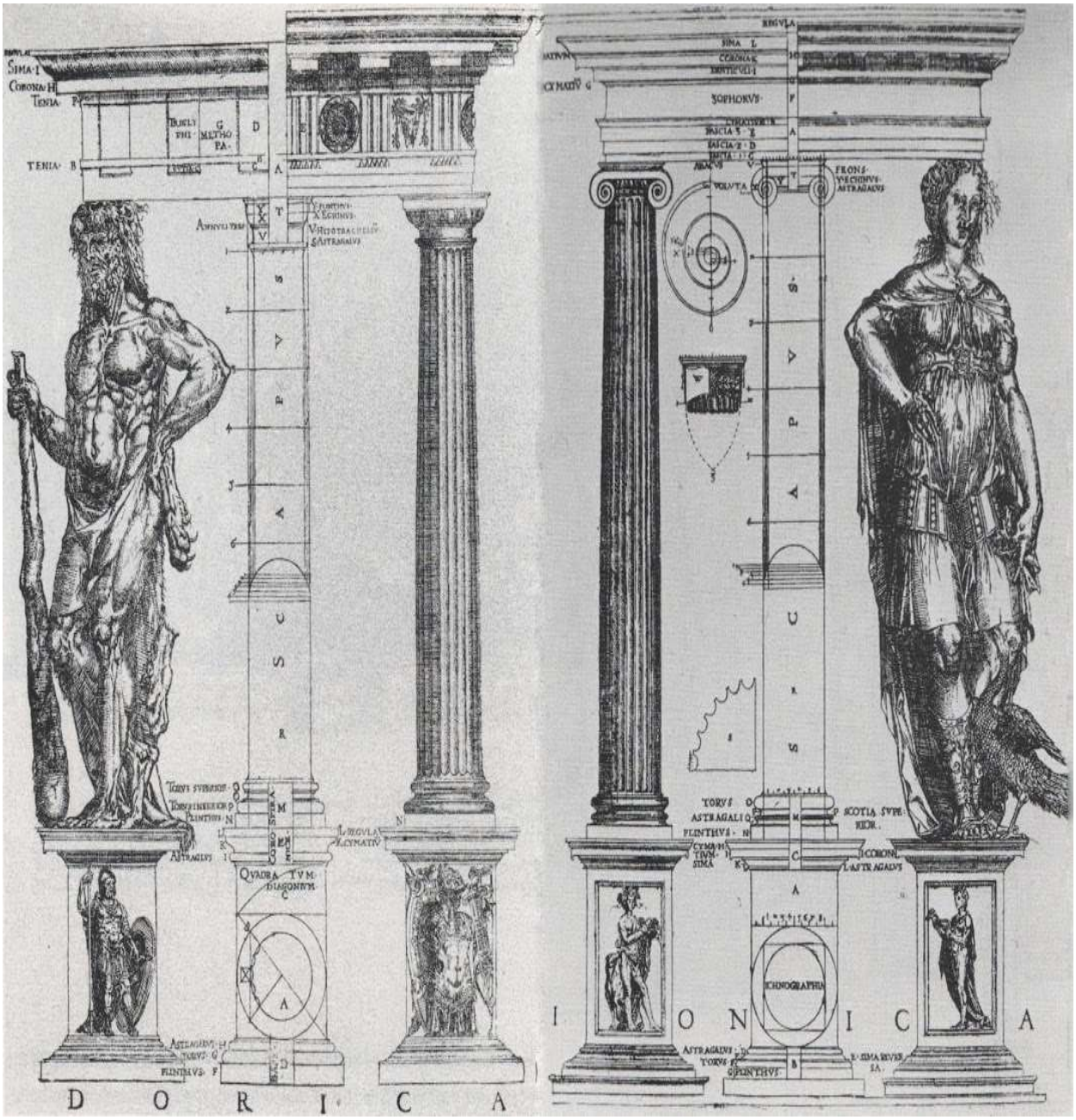

Figure 1. Shute, John. The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture. London, 1563. http://thoughts-out-of-season.blogspot.com/2014/08/the-orders-of-architecture-race-and.html. Shute's design for the Doric (left) is accented with a large club and appears short, stout, and muscular. The Ionic (right) is comparatively slender and stately, with long, flowing robes.

shapes of the pillars themselves, such that the shorter and thicker Doric embodies strength while the slender and ornamented Corinthian displays a more playful quality. However, even more than the natural figures of the pillars, the characteristics of the orders were often influenced by associations with various deities. Mars and Hercules, for example, conferred a sense of militancy to the Doric, and its use in temples to these gods emphasized a perceived sobriety. Meanwhile, the Corinthian's association with Aphrodite conveyed a more suspect moral position, and substituted militancy for a sense of sexuality. The Corinthian's use in country homes and palaces then further reinforced the perception that it was more frivolous than either the Doric or Ionic.

Combined with the explicitly human characteristics and descriptions, these images served to associate the orders with human physiques and personalities. Though the idea of thinking of the orders as exhibiting human qualities was not new, Shute's focus on this characterization seems part of a larger strategy to import otherwise strange architectural features by using a metaphorical vocabulary and visual depictions that could help to clarify the "unfamiliar language" described by Vitruvius. As Joseph Rykwert observes, "the close parallel of column and figure seems Shute's own contribution…to the understanding of the nature of the orders in a northern land where they seemed quite alien."[28] By linking them to innate human characteristics, and locating their features in the natural proportions of the human body, Shute was able to create metaphorical associations between architectural form and character that were easily digestible for even a reader relatively unversed in classical architectural theory. The Vitruvian orders, obscure and difficult to understand in *De Architectura*, thus became one of the most

[28] Rykwert, Joseph. *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture.* pp 33.

symbolically potent features of English Renaissance architecture, and formed part of a deeply metaphorical language that would quickly be adopted by poets of the period.

Section III: "No earthly thing is sure": Architectural Expression and Coherence in Spenser and Herbert.

The treatise writer's tendency to treat architecture as a platform for both projections of metaphorical morality and edification carried over into the poetry of the period. In particular, Edmund Spenser appears to have been fascinated by the moral facets of architecture and poetry, with special interest in the way that both forms make demands upon the reader. And while there has been a long tradition of criticism directed towards Spenser's concern for the pictorial arts, relatively little work has been done to date in considering the implications of Spenser's architecture.[29] Those that have attempted to grapple with the complex relations between Spenser's architecture and ekphrastic writing have often resorted to treating buildings as either essentially another piece of pictorial art to be interrogated for allegorical meanings regardless of its form, or as a realistic depiction of contemporary architecture. These interpretive approaches provide some interesting analyses, but fundamentally simplify architecture into a form that is either entirely mimetic or entirely functional: either meant to represent realistically everything down to the physics that determine if a wall is able to stand, or as a series of symbols to be interpreted regardless of architectural coherence. Rather, such a binary opposition seems to directly contradict the theories of writers like Shute and Vitruvius, who saw architecture as a mix of both functional and aesthetic modes. Further complicating *The Faerie Queene's* already tenuous relationship between architecture as an artform and architecture as a functional medium is the richly allegorical nature of *The Faerie Queene*, which at once demands constant analysis of even the most basic narrative elements, while also reminding the reader that the normal standards

[29] For a brief overview of the impressive scholarship surrounding Spenser's pictorial ekphrasis, see Leslie, Michael. "Edmund Spenser: Art and the Faerie Queene." *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 76, 1990, pp. 73-107.

of her analysis are almost entirely insufficient to understand Spenser's world. That is to say, the strange rules of allegory that govern Faery Land make judging Spenser's architecture as if it were an entirely coherent structure essentially useless, but disregarding the role of architecture altogether ignores the potent architectural symbolism of buildings like Castle Alma.

The first difficulty presented by buildings in *The Faerie Queene* is the tendency to see Spenserian architecture as either conforming to contemporary and realistic ideas of a building, or as merely metaphorical and thereby excused from the normal laws of physics and expectations of functionality . That is to say, it is tempting to read a building like Castle Alma in such a way that one ignores that practicalities of its construction. It is equally tempting to read Castle Alma as if it were an entirely realistic building, in which one might ask whether the layout is more reminiscent of a classic English Gothic style, or newer Italianate country homes. These different approaches are exemplified in arguments made by Darryl Gless and Frederick Hard.[30] Where Gless tends to look at architecture as though it were a series of images to be analyzed—hardly different than a painting—Hard is focused on judging the Castle of Alma against contemporary architectural trends, writing that the Castle of Alma "contains features which are realistic enough."[31] Both analyses, it seems, are unable to capture fully the complexities of architectural ekphrasis in *The Faerie Queene*, as Spenser simultaneously employs the metaphorically charged language of classical architecture, while also describing a building that makes very little sense in light of classical design and even the principles of physics and geometry. Spenser is thus able to use architectural vocabulary to create a building that is charged with metaphorical language, while also exploiting the incoherence of his buildings in order to point to a larger architectural

[30] Gless, Darryl J. "Ekphrasis and Religious Ideology in Spenser's Legend of Holiness." pp. 149-165; Hard, Frederick. "Princelie Pallaces: Spenser and Elizabethan Architecture." pp. 293–310.
[31] Hard, pp.300.

failure. In the process, Spenser forces his reader to re-examine their own interpretations of seemingly "good" buildings elsewhere in *The Faerie Queene*.

The evolving architectural vocabulary of the period was an influence on Spenser's buildings, as evidenced by his description of Castle of Alma. Most obviously, this influence appears in the Castle's frame, a structure that is "proportioned equally by seuen and nine" (II.ix.22.7). This language recalls the exact proportions of the two main Vitruvian orders: Doric (9s) and Ionic (7s). Tellingly, however, Spenser uses this distinction to impart a different anthropomorphic status to the pieces of Alma's castle. The half of Castle Alma that is proportioned by 9's—and thus corresponds to the Doric order—is described by Spenser as "immortall, perfect, masculine," while the Ionic side, being proportioned in 7's, is called "imperfect, mortall, foeminine" (II.ix.22.3-5). Spenser's meaning is further compounded by a broader faith in Christian numeracy, which saw the circle as geometric perfection, and thus a symbol for god. From the outset, then, Spenser builds Castle Alma in incoherent architectural parallels: two shapes, two proportions, masculine and feminine, Doric and Ionic.

Vitruvian terminology is used again as Spenser proceeds to describe specific parts of the castle. The great hall, for example, is called "stately," and the figures within are "comely," and "sober" (II.ix.27). Of course, "comely" is one of the terms Shute uses to describe the Doric (B2v), with the early English architectural treatise writer Henry Wotton writing that the Doric should have only "a sober garnishment now and then" (E2r).[32] And, while there is no mention of the order itself, the language Spenser uses to describe Alma's great hall should recall the descriptions of Doric architecture more broadly, a form that Vitruvius calls "restrictive," and

[32] Wotton, Henry. *The elements of architecture, collected by Henry Wotton Knight, from the best authors and examples*. London, 1624.

Wotton recommends only for "ciuill vse" (57; E2r). Together with Spenser's use of Vitruvian proportions and gendering when describing the castle's frame, the Doric language here seems beyond simple coincidence. Still, the narrator's treatment of the orders is difficult to interpret meaningfully; certainly, the invocation of Doric order works to amplify the "stateliness" of Alma's hall, but it is unclear if the Doric is meant to impart any meaning of its own. However, when read in conjunction with the narrator's description of the castle turrets just 19 stanzas later, the Doric order stands out as yet another example of Spenser's architectural parallelism. Here the narrator abruptly switches architectural styles, describing the "arched" roof "deckt with flower and herbars daintily" (II.ix.46.1-2). This language associates the turrets with Corinthian architecture, as it is distinguished by its feminine character, flowery adornments, and dainty proportions. Again, one finds incoherent masculine and feminine oppositions described in the triangular and circular foundation of Castle Alma repeated in the representations of Doric and Corinthian orders spread throughout the building.

Still, engagement with only the metaphorical Vitruvian language of architecture risks eliding the greater complexity presented by the structure of Castle Alma as a whole. For this reason, it is also necessary to consider Spenser's method of architectural description alongside the individual elements of any given building. Despite long-running analytic traditions that see *The Faerie Queene* as a "gallery of pictures," Spenser's relationship to the classical ekphrastic tradition remains unsettled.[33] For example, in her analysis of Spenser's imagery, Sarah Howe contends that Spenser's writing about art might be best understood as a form of "enargeia"—a form that seeks to render an object in vivid and realistic descriptions—rather than ekphrasis.[34]

[33] Gless, pp 149.
[34] Howe, Sarah. "'Pregnant Images of Life': Visual Art and Representation in Arcadia and The Faerie Queene." pp. 33–53. Enargeia and ekphrasis are admittedly closely related terms, but Howe explains that enargeia was understood as a mode which aimed at producing lifelike and factual descriptions, such that object seemed to appear before the

This distinction is not merely a pedantic lesson on classical rhetoric, but rather enforces a change in the way an art object is understood. Where ekphrasis represents one art by another, essentially adding an additional layer of mimesis to the art object, enargeia intends to realize the described object as if it were literally in front of the reader.[35] Enargeia thus begins from the assumption that pride itself is a physical object that could be encountered in the real world, and uses descriptive techniques in an attempt to evoke this image as if it were physically manifest in the sight of the reader. In this way, enargeia seeks to dispel the notion of double-representation altogether and engage the neo-platonic "mind's eye" with a description that closely replicates actual sight.[36] The "mind's eye" view seems an altogether more accurate understanding of Spenser's writing, as he attempts to materialize allegorical beliefs and ideals into solid form. The House of Pride is not meant to be understood as simply symbolic of pride, but rather should appear to the reader as the platonic idea of pride made physical.

Still, as a rhetorical form that focuses on the representation of two-dimensional art objects, enargeia provides only a limited framework for understanding the spatial elements of Spenser's architecture. Rather than allowing the mind to focus on one object in depth, any realistic description of architecture must move in and about the building, consistently changing the object or area described. As such, it is necessary to consider methodologies more directly oriented towards a three-dimensional understanding of the art object. As Ruth Webb has persuasively argued, the disadvantage of ekphrastic writing, is the way in which it "demands the

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reader. Ekphrasis, on the other hand, was bound by the desire to produce more literary and metaphorical descriptions.

[35] Howe, pp. 38.

[36] For an analysis of the history of the "mind's eye view" in neo-platonic thought, see: Moore, Kathryn Blair. "Ficino's Idea of Architecture: The 'Mind's-Eye View' in Quattrocento Architectural Drawings." pp. 332–52. Moore identifies the "mind's eye view" as a key tenet of Marsillo Ficino's philosophy, particularly as it pertains to the study of architecture.

imposition of a temporal order onto material that is in reality perceived simultaneously by the viewer."[37] A church, for example, can be comprehended in a single glance by a direct viewer, but is inevitably written about in a series of small pieces that unfold over multiple temporal moments. As such, any description of architecture must always balance a description of the work as a whole alongside the many discrete parts that move in and out of focus as they are presented by the writer. In some sense, this limitation is more natural for architecture than it is for other artforms, as it exists as a medium that typically cannot be taken in at a single glance as could a painting, but must rather be observed in pieces as the viewer moves in and around the building. Thus, architectural writing could be said to be more faithful to its form than other types of art-writing, as both writing and architecture tend to unfold across a temporal dimension. To describe this relationship, Webb adopts the term "periegesis," as an analysis that moves around the architectural art object in a way that mimics the path one might take in an imaginary tour of the structure.[38]

This combination of enargeia and periegesis, a synthesized form that seeks to present architecture across a temporal dimension in such a way that it becomes the physical embodiment of platonic ideals, presents a useful way to understand Spenser's architecture. In fact, the sequence from Book 2, stanza's 19-60, wherein Alma guides Guyon and Artegall on a tour through the paired elements of Castle Alma, could perhaps be best understood as a prolonged act of periegesis, in which the reader is led through the door, and into the kitchen and great hall in an almost entirely disembodied sense. Indeed, narratively, there is no mention of Guyon or Artegall as Castle Alma is revealed, and readers could easily imagine it was themselves being led through

[37] Webb, Ruth. "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in Ekphraseis of Church Buildings." pp. 59–74.
[38] Webb, Ruth. "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space" pp 65.

the castle. Of course, the difficulty of the periegetic mode comes in balancing the desire to pause for moments of enargeia, while also constructing a building greater than the sum of its parts. Returning again to the issue of Castle Alma's layout, for example, one finds that the construction by combination, and the pairing of opposite Doric and Corinthian symbols that it encourages, flagrantly violates the principles of order, symmetry, harmony, and nearly every precept of Vitruvian architecture. In doing so, Castle Alma relies on Vitruvian architecture and renaissance architectural theory more generally to create meaning, while also actively eschewing the rules that govern it as a form in favor of an overarching architecture of incoherence.

Such incoherence does not end at the abstract level of Vitruvian orders and proportions. Rather, the complexities of Spenser's architecture continue to expand as Alma leads the knights through to the great hall and kitchen, revealing a series of architectural details that fail to cohere to any expressed architectural style. Crucially, the knights are described as being led from the porch directly into a "stately hall" full of "tables fayre" and "drapes festival" (II.ix.27.1-3). Immediately thereafter, Alma brings her guests into the kitchen (II.ix.29). The existence and position of a great hall in relation to the kitchen in Castle Alma must surely have recalled English medieval architecture. As Lena Cowen-Orlin demonstrates, English architecture throughout the late 16th and early 17th century moves towards a greater degree of structural privacy, substituting communal areas like the great hall for private chambers and parlors.[39] As the importance of these vestigial structures decreased, halls and kitchens began either either disappear or, at the very least, to move further out of sight to the very periphery of manorial life.[40] This movement of social spaces was further complicated by the growing interest in

[39] *Private Matter and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 146-52.
[40] On the changing forms of architecture in the period, see Mercer, "The Houses of the Gentry," pp. 12-15.

Italianate architecture, which sought to order buildings in strictly geometric and symmetrical designs that ran counter to the earlier Perpendicular Gothic tradition, an English adaptation of continental Gothic styles with increased emphasis on horizontal lines that was popular from the late 14th to early 16th centuries.[41] Thus, the position of Alma's great hall at the very entrance to her castle should signal not only a medieval, "disordered" architecture, but also a welcoming entrance to potential visitors. Compare this medieval architecture with the outward structure of Castle Alma, wherein the narrator describes a building of precise Vitruvian proportions that suggests a more classic and manorial architectural style. Even without considering the exact architectural styles on display, the welcoming openness of Alma's great hall and kitchen at the entrance of the castle stands in stark contrast to earlier points in the poem when Guyon and Artegall found the outward facing castle gate "fast barred" (II.ix.10.8). Again, Alma is shown to be incoherent in its design, at once welcoming and also locked shut; architecturally medieval on the inside, but also depending on classical Vitruvian proportions for its outward structure

Alma's architectural style and Vitruvian proportions work together to create a sense of architectural incoherence, and so too do the very materials used in the building's construction. While it seems strangely separate from our modern conceptions of architecture, the choice and procurement of building materials was a great concern for Renaissance architectural theorists, and thus was a loaded moment for Spenser to develop allegorical meaning. Vitruvius, for example, dedicates individual chapters of his work to the process of making mortar, stone selection, wood seasoning, and many other practical, material concerns. Given this concern for building materials, it is altogether sensible and necessary to for Spenser to describe the materials used to build Castle Alma. Beginning with the walls themselves, described as "so high, as foe

[41] See figure 2.

might not it clime," the narrator establishes the functional dimension of Castle Alma's construction (II.ix.21.2). However, despite the walls' ability to withstand enemy attacks, the narrator further obligates the reader to consider the moral and allegorical function of Castle Alma's construction, noting that the walls are also "faire, and sensible withal" (II.ix.21.3). This allegorical component is enhanced by the strange materials Spenser describes which are neither "bricke, ne…stone and lime" but rather something "like to that AEgyptian slime" (II.ix.21.4-5).

Spenser then continues into Castle Alma itself, writing of the buildings porch made "of hewen stone…more of valew, and more smooth and fine,/ Then Iett or Marble far from Ireland brought" (II.ix.24.1-3). Of course, this moment blatantly contradicts Alma's outward construction, which was made of neither "stone" nor "lime." Alma is thus shown to be incoherent on at least two levels: the building is obviously inconsistent at the material level, changing from stone to "Aegyptian slime" and back again without apparent reason. However, more importantly, Alma is also incoherent in the way that it jumps from realistic architectural considerations—the choice to build with stone rather than marble or jet—and obviously metaphorical constructions, like walls made of slime. It seems that, rather than describing an architecturally coherent structure, Spenser instead opts to disavow foreign building materials like marble, a move that would become familiar to later poets writing on architecture like Ben Jonson and Andrew Marvell. This rejection of marble and jet supports the further rejection of Italianate designs in Alma's constructions, again opting for something more distinctly earthly and even English in appearance. Just as the interior architecture of Alma presents the reader with two different and incompatible styles, and the buildings outward design seems to incoherently mix elements of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian architecture, the materials of Alma's construction are similarly incoherent. Clearly, a building made entirely of slime could not support its own weight,

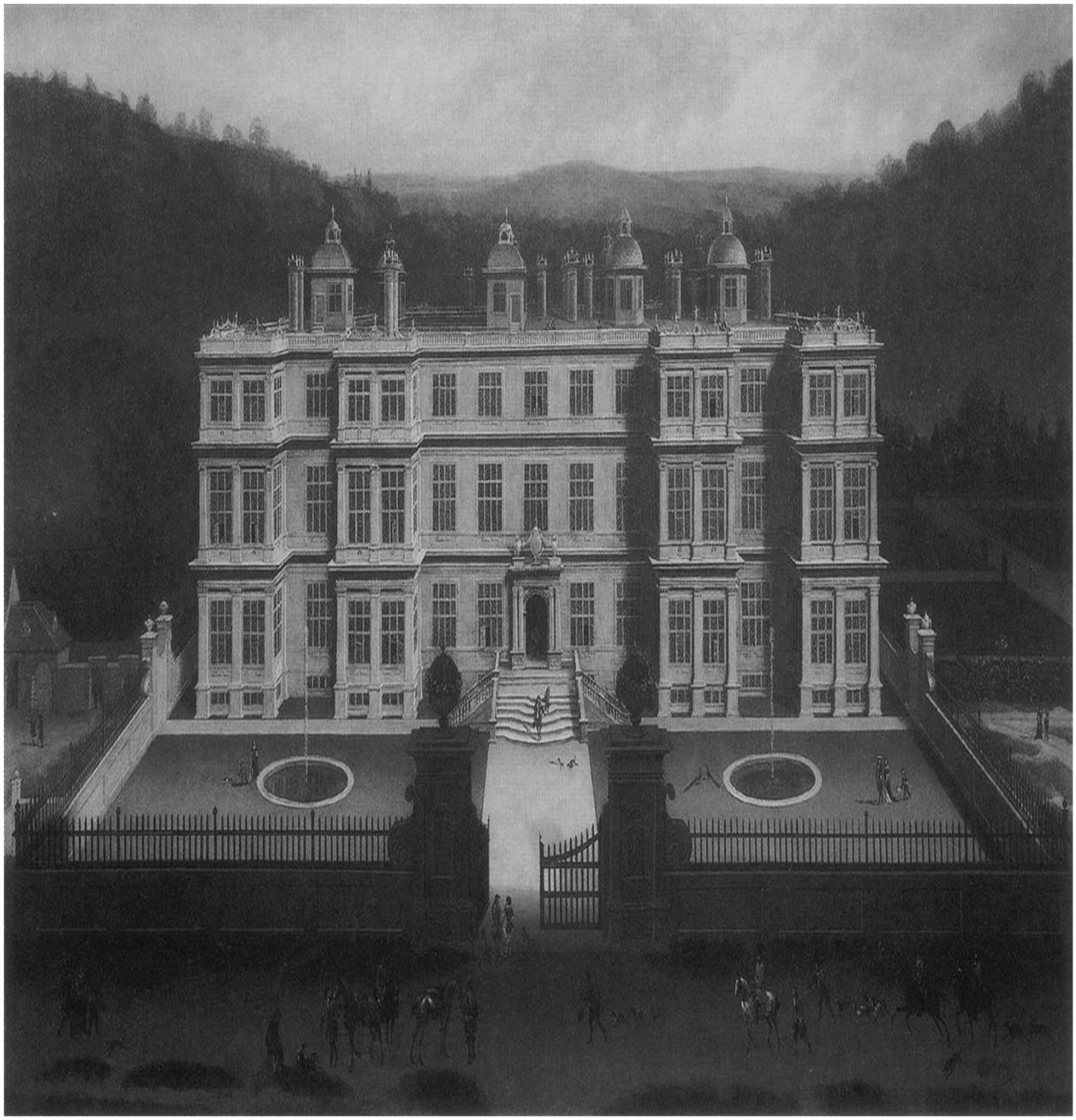

Figure 2. Siberechts, Jan. *A View of Longleat*. 1675, oil on canvas, Government Art Collection, London. https://www.wikiart.org/en/jan-siberechts/a-view-of-longleat-1675. Pictured above, Longleat is an excellent example of the later Italianate designs that came to dominate English country house architecture in the later 16th century. Its pattern of regular windows and columns, uniform height, and generally rectangular front are all distinct signs of Italian and classical designs.

and thus the reader must recognize this as a movement towards allegorical meanings, even as the very practical choice between stone and marble lingers in the mind of the reader.

The failure of architecture in these instances, though somewhat strange in the context of so much architectural language elsewhere in Canto IX, should not be surprising within the larger universe of *The Faerie Queene*. Rather, Spenserian architecture is consistently the subject of intense suspicion, beginning with the House of Pride in Book 1, and carrying through until at least the House of Busirane in Book 3, after which the narrative takes on a decidedly more pastoral tone. Still, despite the overwhelming suspicion with which Spenser regards architecture, critics have tended to see the Castle of Alma as a direct answer to The House of Pride and the Bower of Bliss, two examples of corrupt architecture elsewhere in the poem.[42] The temptation to see Alma as an answer to the House of Pride is especially compelling, as Alma appears to address three of the fundamental problems with Pride: the walls "nothing strong nor thick," the "weake foundation," and the gates "open wide" (I.iv.4.3; 5.4; 6.2).

The first difference presented between Castle Alma and the House of Pride is obviously the ease of entrance. Where the House of Pride is described as having a "broad high way" that leads unto a gate "open wide," Guyon and Artegall originally find the gates of Castle Alma "fast barred" (II.ix.10.8). But the gates to Castle Alma do not remain locked for long, and soon Alma decides to permit Guyon and Artegall entrance in order to rescue them from the encroaching horde. Such a decision must be dubious in the context of the book of temperance, as the decision to allow into the body that which one had previously denied seems a direct contrast to the

[42] For perhaps the most compelling iteration of this argument, see Fowler, Alastair. "Numerical Composition in The Faerie Queene." pp. 199-239. Other critics like Frederick Hard have commented on the perceived realism of Alma's structure, while C.S. Lewis has gone so far as to identify Castle Alma as the "allegorical core" of the book (pp. 333-4).

restraint required of temperance. Similarly, the walls of Castle Alma are at first presented as strong and functional. Indeed, Spenser writes that Alma's walls are "so high, as foe might not it clime/ And all so faire, and sensible withal" (II.ix.21.1-3). Again, the description of Castle Alma seems to stand in direct contrast to the House of Pride, with it walls "nothing strong, nor thick" and covered in golden foil (I.iv.4.3-4). However, upon closer look, the Alma's walls fail to literally cohere, instead being made of only "Aegyptian slime," a substance that could not possibly stand for any duration of time (II.ix.21.5). Indeed, the walls of Castle Alma are revealed to be the object of narratorial pity, as Spenser writes "Soon it must turne to earth; no earthly thing is sure" (II.ix.21.9).

Even the numerical patterning of Alma's structure, something that Alistair Fowler points to as evidence for the Castle's inherent virtue, ultimately shows its architectural incoherence under pressure. Indeed, in Vitruvian architectural theory, the placement of proportions 7 and 9 together would have seemed a strange mismatch of Doric and Ionic features. But even more than the incoherence of Vitruvian numeracy, Castle Alma's structure again recalls the design of the House of Pride. Where Castle Alma is designed with a front-facing "frame…partly circulare" which "far in worksmanship did excell" a triangular back, the House of Pride has "hinder parts…ruinous and old" that belie the opulence of the gold painted front (II.ix.22.1-2; 23.2-3; I.iv.5.8-9). Clearly, the Castle of Alma lacks the pure decadence of the House of Pride's ornamentation, but both buildings are shown to be suspiciously open, unstable, and deceptive. In this way, Castle Alma's design scheme is shown to rely on front facing perfection to hide deeper structural flaws in much the same way as the House of Pride. This is not to suggests that all architecture in *The Faerie Queene* is equally flawed, but rather that, by the nature of its reliance on craft and its earthly origins, no architecture can be perfect according to Spenser. Criticisms

that tend to read Alma strictly for its architectural features, identifying precise Vitruvian proportions to point towards a sense of unity that contradicts the incoherence of the House of Pride, for example, necessarily overlook Alma's own incoherent design. In this way, rather than asking the reader to look for direct contrasts between his architectural models. Spenser instead suggests an inherent skepticism that readers are reluctant to take up. With its multiple layers and spatial inconsistencies, architecture functions as an ideal medium for such metaphorical conceits. Where one might scoff at Redcrosse for not seeing past the front-facing perfection of the House of Pride in Book 1, Spenser's description of Castle Alma places the reader in a similar situation. Though marred with deep flaws and inconsistencies, Castle Alma's outward perfection manages to deceive even the reader; Castle Alma thus becomes the readers' own House of Pride, and they enter willingly.

George Herbert's *The Temple* presents a similar test to the reader. Most obviously, like in Spenser, the reader is often unsure of how much she should invest in what appears to be a strictly allegorical architectural conceit. That is to say, Herbert's *Temple*, much like Castle Alma, purports to be a piece of architecture while in actuality doing very little to present a coherent building. Insofar as Herbert's *The Temple* actually attempts to construct a temple via periegesis, it does so poorly; Herbert's architecture moves in and out of focus and is often altogether forgotten even in moments that seem to focus on otherwise ideal objects of enargeia, such as "The Floor." For his part, Richard Strier has argued that the architecture of Herbert's temple is essentially nothing more than a trick, a self-congratulatory conceit designed to fool the reader and then sadistically mock her focus on the material. In his analysis of "The Floor," for example, Strier writes that Herbert "knows that we can be tempted into thinking in physical terms, and specifically into visualization, when it is not appropriate, and…that whatever this poet thinks

about physical church structures, he thinks that internal 'structures' are more important."[43] Ultimately, Strier concludes that "we are missing the point if we think we are witnessing a moment or embodiment of ekphrasis" in *The Temple*.[44]

Strier is not altogether incorrect; as demonstrated above, enargeia and periegesis are typically much better models for understanding architectural description than ekphrasis for any number of reasons. With that said, Herbert's temple is quite clearly not meant to hold up to sustained architectural analysis. However, to argue that the overarching architectural metaphor of *The Temple* simply exists to trap the reader, as Strier suggests, seems a radical understatement, and fails to consider the important role that architectural language fills in addressing Herbert's religious practice. Supporting the claim that Herbert's temple is, at some level, meant to be understood in its architectural context, is the notion of architecture as a space for edification and prayer. That is to say, Herbert's temple plays into popular contemporary understandings of architecture as an embodiment of learning. As Alastair Fowler has demonstrated, architectural designs were commonly used as memory aids and mnemonic devices well into the 17th century, with many self-help books describing the process by which one might construct and divide memories into decades.[45] Couple this with the fact that Herbert himself was known for using drawn texts and even images in his church, and it becomes apparent that Herbert saw the physical space of the church, if not the architecture, as an important medium for devotional practice and edification.[46] In fact, while Strier implies that Herbert is in some sense a Puritanical-leaning iconoclast—a position he posits and quickly walks back—Terry Sherwood writes that "Herbert's commitment to the physical church and its furnishings is striking," and Paul Dyck

[43] pp. 100.
[44] Ibid pp. 109.
[45] Fowler, *The Mind of The Book: Pictorial Title Pages*, pp 55-7.
[46] Dyck, "Locating the Word: The Textual Church and George Herbert's *Temple*." pp. 225-7.

notes that Herbert was involved in the construction of three separate churches over the course of his life.[47] This should not suggest that Herbert is a Laudian priest either, but rather simply that opinions on architecture cannot be neatly divided between iconoclasts and idolatrists. Clearly, then, it would be an oversight to ignore Herbert's architecture when there are so many instances when he seems to rely on architectural and physical language to create meaning in his poetry.

For instance, Strier's decision to focus on "The Floor" is interesting, both because of the poem's physical proximity to a group of other architectural poems in "The Windows," and "Church Monuments," but also because "The Floor" makes specific reference to the "architect" of Herbert's temple. In the final two lines of the poem, Herbert writes "Blest be the architect, whose art/ Could build so strong in so weak a heart." (19-20). Of course, it is precisely these lines that Strier keys in on in his own argument, as Herbert reveals that the floor he writes about is not a physical construction within a literal temple, but rather is part of the heart itself. It is at this point that Herbert's metaphor becomes fully transparent; where the "speckled stone" that "is patience" could previously exist in a state of ambiguity, the final two lines of Herbert's poem make clear that there is no stone at all. In this sense, Strier is correct in noticing that Herbert's architecture is incoherent at the very material level. This material incoherence is further exacerbated by an incoherence at the structural level. That is to say, whereas perigetic logic would dictate that the reader move from a general poem like "The British Church" into the entrance at "The Church Porch" before perhaps encountering "Lock and Key," "The Floor," "The Windows" and so on, Herbert actively resists this kind of architectural coherence.

[47] pp. 85; "Locating the Word: The Textual Church and George Herbert's *Temple*." pp. 225.

Still, what Strier fails to consider is the role that architectural language, metaphor, and even incoherence plays in creating Herbert's meaning throughout *The Temple*. Strier is correct in noticing architectural incoherence in Herbert's temple, but neglects the metaphorical significance of Herbert's architectural language more generally. To this point, the relationship between architect and heart that Herbert touches on in "The Floor" is a recurrent metaphor throughout *The Temple*, and one that is used to demonstrate the importance of religious teachings offered by the church over the buildings literal physicality. For example, within the first four lines of the poem, Herbert sets up a binary opposition between the human heart designed by God, and the objects constructed by "workman's tool" (1-4). Though the altar—which quickly becomes interchangeable for the speaker's heart—is broken at the beginning of the poem, it is still clearly held as superior to objects of human craft, as Herbert writes "A HEART alone/ is such a stone" (5-6). That the workman is unable even to cut the stone described in these lines demonstrates not only an inability to replicate the work of God as architect, but a fundamental difference in material and design that elevates Godly architecture above human craft. Infused in this language of Godly versus human production is also the language of materials and the morality they convey. When he writes that "no workman's tool hath touched the same," for example, the material of Herbert's altar should remind readers of the same biblical passage that inspired Spenser to forsake jet and marble for "hewen stone." This is because the word "touch" actually denotes both the action of physically modifying and crafting a piece of art, but also a specific, expensive, and Italianate type of marble.[48] Where Spenser ultimately rejected foreign marble and jet, he also chose a material explicitly condemned by God in "hewn stone." Here Herbert rejects hewn stone and the workman's tool that God claims would "pollute" his creation, but he also

[48] "touch, n." def. 4. OED Online, Oxford University Press, January 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/203876.

more subtly rejects the same marble and jet that Spenser held up as an example of architectural excess and suspect foreign values.

Herbert's rejection of the material elements of architecture, however, should not be mistaken for a rejection of architecture altogether. In fact, the potency of the metaphor of God-as-architect lies in the way that it distances God from materiality and the physical act of construction. Instead, architecture in *The Temple* generally serves as an expression of the Word and teachings of God. In "The Altar," for example, he writes of a moment when "These stones to praise thee may not cease," and the large, uppercase emphasis placed on the word "Altar," "Heart," and "Sacrifice" combine with this focus on language and praise almost to resemble a kind of etching or carved language into the very physical construction Herbert describes (14). This focus on architecture as a vessel for prayer and religious edification continues in the poem "Sepulchre," when Herbert writes that "the law by heav'nly art/ Was writ in stone; so thou, which also art/ The letter of the word, find'st no fit heart/ To hold thee" (17-20). Here, Herbert is much more explicit about his sublimated desire to receive the Word of God into his body, imagining the heart as a stone that could receive engravings like the walls of his own church. Similarly, in "Nature" the speaker asks God outright to "smooth my rugged heart, and there Engrave thy rev'rend law and fear" (13-14). In this progression, one finds an increasing identification not with the signified, but with the literal space for religious teachings that architecture offers.

But where architecture offered a space for prayer and religious edification in Herbert and Spenser, both poets were also keenly aware of the darker moral prospects of architecture. Take Herbert's poem "The World" for example. Here, Herbert imagines the world as a "stately house" designed by God—imagined as the allegorical figure "Love"—which is slowly corrupted by

"Balconies" and "Terraces" (1-7). The house is eventually visited by Sin, who weakens the "inward walls," and finally burnt "to the very floor" by a combined force of Sin and Death (11-20). Of course, within this heavily allegorical framework is mention of several architectural features that existed in reality, and were largely associated with the new and opulent country houses, in balconies and terraces. This skeptical view of lavish architecture is repeated in the poem "Sion," when Herbert rails against the "flowers and carving mysticall and rare," "purest gold," and embellished wood of the Temple of Solomon (1-5). In this luxurious architecture Herbert even allows evidence of "builder's care," but ultimately rejects this kind of artifice in favor of "one good groan," or prayer (6; 18). Ultimately, Herbert rejects these traditional building materials of "brasse and stone" in favor of prayers, reasoning that the latter make better tombs, but are unfit for temples (19-21). Here the limits of materiality come into focus, but Herbert refuses to evacuate the architectural metaphor of *The Temple* altogether, metaphorizing prayer itself into materials akin to "brasse and stone." Whereas Herbert had earlier asked God to engrave his word into the worshipper's stony heart, in this instance the poet offers to construct his own piece of linguistic architecture. In this way, Herbert imagine architecture as a space both for the reception of God's Word, but also for the offering of one's own words in the form of prayer.

Herbert's repeated rejection of the physical and material aspects of architecture throughout *The Temple* might at first seem to support Strier's belief that the physical building does not matter. Indeed, *The Temple* is hardly a coherent building, with no clear, periegetic outline of its design beyond a mysteriously placed altar that appears to greet the reader as soon as she enters. Still, much like Spenser, Herbert's architectural incoherence should not be understood as a sign that architecture is unimportant to the poem, but rather should serve to reinforce the

reader's skepticism. Scholars such as John David Walker, for example, have argued that Herbert's temple is actually modelled on the Temple of Solomon, an association that would obviously privilege the architecture of Herbert's temple if correct.[49] And where the negative associations of the Temple of Solomon would help to explain Herbert's apparent rejection of architecture's opulent and idolatrous tendencies, it does very little to interpret the instances outlined above, in which the space of the church seems critical to the act of prayer and practice of religion.

Clearly, then, Herbert's relationship to architecture is complicated, and it might be best understood as what Valerie Carnes calls "an analogy between man's religious and aesthetic activities."[50] That is to say, where Richard Strier suggests that the aesthetic—or architectural—aspects of Herbert's temple are best understood as a kind of symbol that leads to a metaphysical idea of religion, Carnes contends that we should take Herbert at his word when he writes that 'The floor…is patience" (1-3). In this sense, Herbert's temple can be understood in much the same way as Spenser's Alma: a literal embodiment of a platonic idea, complete with all the flaws inherent in its earthly rendering. To Herbert, God and religion can be architectural without being material, a fact made apparent by the consistent likening of God to an architect. In this sense, architectural incoherence is, at some level, the point; while it does rely on the language of architecture to address its subject, Herbert's poetic temple can only ever be the corrupt physical manifestation of his religious teaching and prayer. Herbert's architectural incoherence expresses this earthly corruption of God's Word, and also demands that the reader consider their own religious practice in relation to language.

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[49] Walker, John David. "The Architectonics of George Herbert's The Temple." pp. 289-90.
[50] Carnes, Valerie. "The Unity of George Herbert's The Temple: A Reconsideration" pp. 507.

Section IV: "Things greater are in less contained": Architectural Metonymy and the Country House Poem.

Where the structures described in Spenser and Herbert relied on a theoretical and metaphorical language of architecture, the larger allegorical and theological purposes for these buildings ultimately works against the principles of coherence or realistic design. And while a reader might be tempted to dismiss Spenser or Herbert's architectural incoherence as a natural failure arising from any attempt to describe a spatial medium like architecture in the temporal terms of poetry, there exists a fair deal of evidence that Renaissance poets had both the ability and, at times, the desire to portray buildings in more architecturally coherent terms. Ben Jonson's "To Penshurst" provides one such example of a poem in which, while altering the historical structure of Penshurst, the poet ultimately offers a coherent description of a building that could even be taken for more realistic and natural than its source. In "To Penshurst" Jonson moves in and about the larger estate, frequently drawing comparisons between the harmonious qualities of nature, and the similar qualities exhibited by the house and its inhabitants. In part, these qualities are exemplified by a series of architectural details that, while often embellished or even completely absent from the source building, cohere in such a manor as to mirror the harmonious natural world around them.

Of course, the very notion that architectural features are important to the country house poem has not gone uncontested and has in fact long been held as a fallacy by important critics of the genre. For his part, Alistair Fowler has notably objected to the title "country house poem," instead insisting that Jonson's poem would be better understood as an "estate poem."[51] In

[51] Fowler, Alistair. "Country House Poems: The Politics of a Genre" pp. 4.

Fowler's view, the estate poem—of which "To Penshurst" is the exemplar text—is a genre characterized not by the actual house indicated in the title, but is rather a pseudo-pastoral genre that emphasizes the relationship between the natural world and the estate grounds. Similarly, in his seminal study of the genre, G.R. Hibbard arrives at much the same conclusion as Fowler, writing that "The house as such hardly appears in the poem at all, and there is nothing whatever about its architecture."[52] Hibbard and Fowler are at least partially right to point out the discrepancy between the scattered details offered about the house in "To Penshurst" and the rather lengthy descriptions of Penshurst's "better marks" in its copse, streams, and fields. There is not, for example, what one might recognize as a periegetic sense of motion accompanying Jonson's description of Penshurst. Rather, any architectural detail that Jonson does provide is generally indicated indirectly, or is in some sense tangential to Jonson's discussion of hospitality. In fact, such was the belief that Penshurst the house had little to offer "Penshurst" the poem that, even in a study primarily concerned with the relationship between physical place and poem, Don Wayne admits that any architectural description of the building is largely confined to the first 8 lines of the poem.[53] But it is far too simple to say that architecture is irrelevant to any understanding of "To Penshurst" beyond the 8th line of the poem. Rather, the language of architecture, and the implication of those first 8 lines, resonates throughout the entire poem. Beginning with these first line, the architectural coherence of Jonson's Penshurst, and its perceived harmony with the surrounding natural world, positions the house and grounds as equally important to his realization of the structure.

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[52] Hibbard, G. R. "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century" pp. 165.
[53] Wayne, Don. *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History*. pp. 46.

Still, where the architecture of Penshurst ultimately reflects and is reflected in the surrounding grounds, one need not go that far to begin an analysis of architecture in "To Penshurst." Instead, as Don Wayne observes, the first 8 lines of "To Penshurst" are loaded with architectural language and symbolism that set the stage for Jonson's larger take on the estate. In this early description of Penshurst's architecture, Jonson describes the building largely in negatives, writing about foreign and ostentatious architectural features that Penshurst does not have. For example, Jonson writes to Penshurst: "Thou hast no lantern…/Or stair, or courts" (4-5) nor "a row/ Of polished pillars, or a roof of gold" (2-3). In addition to the sheer decadence of architectural features like a golden roof, Jonson also draws attention to the peculiarly foreign connotations of Penshurst's antithesis, rejecting the Italianate materials of "touch or marble" in favor of "country stone" of which Penshurst is built (2; 45).

Beyond these rather simple observations of what is or is not present at Penshurst, however, are two larger and rather more interesting points that seem to support the idea that the coherence of Jonson's "Penshurst" is the result of an embellished description of a building that was, in reality, less than an architecturally coherent. First, Jonson explains that Penshurst is not "built to envious show," which, despite its vague language, reveals Jonson's larger attitude towards the structure and reinforces the harmonious relationship between house and grounds (1). Second, Jonson writes that Penshurst "stand'st an ancient pile" (5). Together, Penshurst's humble design and age serve to recall the gothic architectural features associated with a romanticized history of English landholding.[54] However, according to the historical record of the building, Penshurst was neither especially modest, nor long-held by the Sidney family. Rather, in a move that is likely meant to hide the Lord Lisle's insecurities about his family's relatively

[54] Wayne, Don. *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History*. pp. 15.

recent rise to political and economic prominence, Jonson's assertion that Penshurst "stand'st an ancient pile" serves to contrast the tenancy of the Sidney's at Penshurst with other members of the newly-landed gentry who were being pushed further and further into the countryside as a result of contemporary repasturalization policies.[55]

Penshurst's ancient pile should indicate a ruler who had been in place for a great deal of time, as opposed to the lords who were currently being pushed out to the countryside by King James. The reality is, however, that Penshurst had not fallen into the Sidney's hands until 1552, just before the explosion of prodigy houses in the 1580's but certainly not the long tenure that Jonson's "ancient pile" would suggest.[56] Dating the Sidney's acquisition of Penshurst to this point thus provides an interesting and informative contrast between the Penshurst Jonson describes, and the historical structure itself. To this point, it is important to note that, until much later in the 17th century, these so-called prodigy houses were not particularly Italianate, nor did they rely on classical architectural principles. Instead, a prodigy house would be distinguished by its sheer size, the H-layout that placed the great hall central to two wings, and, in all likelihood, multiple courts.[57] Further complicating the already-tenuous line between natural English architecture and the newer, suspect houses, tenancy alone would have been recognized as a generally poor indicator of value to a contemporary audience; even "ancient piles" of the time were frequently turning over their tenancy—as was the case with Saxham's turnover to the Crofts in 1531.[58] Instead, the distinction that resides in an "ancient pile" would be the distinction between a house that "grew" naturally with the land, and one that was created by an architect and

[55] For more on land tenancy and repasturalization policies under King James I, see Hiltner, Ken. *What else is pastoral?: Renaissance literature and the environment*. pp.50.
[56] Fowler, Alistair. "Country House Poems: The Politics of a Genre" pp. 3.
[57] Mercer, E. "The Houses of the Gentry." pp. 13.
[58] Fowler, Alistair. "Country House Poems: The Politics of a Genre" pp. 3.

built into the land. Longleat, for example, was noted for its symmetrical design, the result of careful planning before building.[59] The asymmetrical slant of Penshurst would have been one such distinction that lends to the idea that Penshurst "grew" into the land. Its medieval architecture, as Don Wayne points out, would have also been evidence of an English naturalism in direct contrast to the imposed "culture" of more modern constructions.[60]

Similarly, Jonson's claim that Penshurst is not "built to envious show" is made dubious by the wealth of historical documentation that demonstrates Lord Lisle's commitment to building the reputation of his house and family. While Penshurst lacked the ostentatious features that the poet describes in the first 8 lines of the poem, it certainly seems a stretch for Jonson to claim that the house was not built for show at all. Rather, a 1623 inventory of Penshurst suggests that the Lord Lisle made a great deal of expenditures exactly to that end. In her analysis of the inventory, Germaine Warkentin lists a number of ostentatious offerings: a well-decorated library featuring over 5,000 titles, bedding that cost over £2000, and a consuming interest in decorating rooms in a lavish, coordinated style.[61] One such room was the withdrawing chamber of King James, described as having: "newe Tapestrye hangings…a Testerne of uncut Russet velvet garnished with gould…and damaske Curtaines stript with gould."[62] The sheer volume of goods in this room alone makes the claim that Penshurst is not for "envious show" seem laughable. Rather, it seems fairly obvious that this room was indeed designed for envious show; that this incredible bounty should be found in a room specifically designed for entertaining royal guests demonstrates the lengths to which the Sidney's would go to create a courtly representation of themselves. As a result of these expenditures, the Sidney's found themselves in dire financial

[59] Wayne, Don. *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History*. pp. 49.
[60] Ibid. pp 86-9.
[61] Warkentin, G. "Jonson's Penshurst Reveal'd? A Penshurst Inventory of 1623." pp. 9-12.
[62] Ibid. pp. 10.

positions as early as 1607; meanwhile, improvements to the house such as the fruit wall, the stables, and other minor modifications would not be finished until five years later.[63]

Such discrepancies between the actual building and the Penshurst of Jonson's poem demonstrate that the poet was in fact far more committed to developing a harmonious and naturalistic depiction of the house than to periegetically cataloguing the house with any degree of fidelity. Both the assertion that Penshurst "stand'st an ancient pile" and that it was not "built to envious show" seem to reinforce a coherent understanding of the building that lines up with its lack of ostentatious structures like lanterns or a gold roof. Jonson is thus able to make Penshurst's lack of such features part of an overarching principle of the house's design, rather than an obvious lacking or flaw. In this sense, even though the poem seems to vary wildly from the house it is supposed to describe, Jonson's poem is able to present a house that feels more natural and coherent, unified by the embellishment of its architectural features. Unlike in Spenser, the house described by Jonson seems unified to a common purpose and design, and its architecture is reflective of that conceit. Indeed, the Penshurst Jonson presents is one that seems as much a part of the natural environment as the built, a sense that is reinforced both by its humble design and by some specific architectural features of the building.

Furthermore, if one takes the wide-ranging parameters of architecture set out by Vitruvius seriously, Penshurst's architecture could well include the very grounds that Fowler finds so interesting. Among the features that Jonson identifies as the "better marks" of Penshurst—a term Fowler seizes on for his own analysis—are the "soile," "ayre," "wood," and "water" of the surrounding estate. Curiously, in his treatise on architecture, Henry Wotton writes

[63] Rathmell, J. "Jonson, Lord Lisle, and Penshurst." pp. 252-3.

of an architect's ablity to locate a proper "seat" for the house in much the same terms. Finding such a sight, according to Wotton, includes determining the "temper of the Aire," "mineral exhalations from the soile," and that the sight is "well watered" (A3v). Of course, these are not ideas unique to Wotton—in fact, Vitruvius wrote even more extensively on the proper selection of a building site—but the similarity between his architectural language and the poetic language of his contemporary in Ben Jonson should serve to highlight the elision between the natural and built worlds in the poem. Furthermore, Jonson himself would not have been blind to this tension, as he clearly read and seriously annotated his own copy of *De Architectura*.[64]

Given this wider Vitruvian conception of architecture that includes the materials, environment, and ground for building, one can see the ways in which Jonson works to embed Penshurst into a coherent and natural structure. Perhaps nowhere is this coherence more apparent than in the very walls of Penshurst, which are at once very physical and real structures, made of "country stone" as opposed to Spenser's "slime," but also firmly embedded in their environment. First and foremost, Jonson's choice of material in this instance is clearly meant to tie Penshurst to a local sense of history, separating it from relatively new houses that tended to employ more "touch or marble" in their design. Further strengthening the sense of coherence between Penshurst's inward and outward facing architecture, the interior walls of the structure are lined with orchards that yield apricots and peaches "that every child may reach" (44). Not only is the natural world invading domestic architecture in this moment, but the language of a "woolly peach" or "blushing apricot" practically offering itself up to a reaching child should further recall scenes of the "Bright eeles" that leap "Before the fisher, or into his hand" (37-8) or of the "painted partrich…willing to be kill'd" for the lord's dinner (29-30). In reality, the orchard at

[64] McPherson, D. "Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia: An Annotated Catalogue." pp. 101.

Penshurst was a constant source of anxiety for the Lord Lisle, as his letters from London attests to an ever-present worry that English frost might snuff out a harvest of such Mediterranean fruits. However, in the theme of the poem, and out of a desire to portray an overwhelming coherence in his literary version of Penshurst, Jonson chooses to describe an ever-bountiful and harmonious orchard where, in actuality, one could never exist. In this moment in particular, the architecture of Jonson's Penshurst, with its walls made of "country stone" becomes almost indistinguishable from the similarly yielding nature outside the house's walls.

Andrew Marvell's "Upon Appleton House" works similarly to use architectural features and coherence in order to elide an inconvenient and difficult history. Like Penshurst, the history of Appleton is not a linear progress of natural succession, nor is the building itself unblemished. Indeed, in his study of the poem's religious implications, Clinton Allen Brand writes of "Upon Appleton House" as a kind of protestant historiography designed to overwrite the building's history as a convent.[65] There was incentive enough to rewrite this history, as the act of settling in an old religious house was widely viewed with superstition and perhaps even vaguely sacrilegious.[66] In fact, stories of old religious houses that collapsed on and killed their new inhabitants were not uncommon, and spawned a wide-spread fear of such structures. Of course, in his own telling of the events, Marvell flips this exact narrative, writing that "were there but… one stone that a just hand had laid" it would have fallen on the nun's head (209-11). In Jonsonian fashion, such narrative overwrites are a common strategy for Marvell, as the poet also frames the acquisition of Appleton as a legal technicality by which William Fairfax was reluctantly left with the demolished structure. Marvell's Fairfax, being informed by both Religion and "Right," then

[65] Brand, Clinton Allen. "'Upon Appleton House' and the Decomposition of Protestant Historiography." pp. 477–510.
[66] Griffin, Patsy. "'Twas No Religious House till Now': Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House.'" pp. 62.

rebuilt the house in its signature "short but admirable lines" (226; 42). In reality the Fairfax's aggressively pursued the purchase of Appleton; such was the extent of Fairfax family's upward mobility that Lee Erickson writes that "there was little romance or grandeur in their shrewd marriages and careful acquisition of property for the historian or poet to celebrate."[67]

With little natural history to draw on given and the building's incoherent shifting from catholic to protestant occupancy, any positive association between the Fairfax's and their home had to be drawn from other sources. Many critics cite the character of Isabella Thwaites and her double in Thomas Fairfax's daughter, Maria, as objects of intense devotional focus for Marvell, and as potential persons from whom Appleton could derive a sense of honor otherwise lost by its transactional history.[68] However, relatively unexplored is the relation of the first 11 stanzas—the section unquestionably most typical of the country house poem—to the broader foundation narrative that Marvell establishes over the course of the poem. Briefly touched on above, for example, is the relation between the "short but admirable lines" of Appleton and the Puritan ideology of the Fairfax family. In fact, the "short but admirable lines" are a guiding principle of Appleton, and are only one part of a larger architectural scheme that seeks to link the house to the natural world and an accompanying sense of religious sobriety. In doing so, Marvell replaces the ornamented, fragmented world of Appleton's early history with a coherent imagining of a contemporary religious house.

To do so, Marvell relies heavily on the theoretical language of architecture. Vitruvian reliance on proportion and mathematics, for example, saturate Marvell's poetic diction. Perhaps nothing in the poem illustrates these ideas so clearly as Marvell's complaint that men build

[67] Erickson, Lee. "Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House' and the Fairfax Family." pp. 159.
[68] Ibid. pp. 161.

"unproportioned dwellings" (10). The unproportioned nature of these constructions is mirrored in Marvell's mind by the "unruled" nature of the men who build them (9). Of course, all of this emphasis on being proportioned and ruled should recall Vitruvian architecture, which is itself based on a system of precise proportionality. Similarly, the slightly more abstract notion of Appleton's hall growing "spherical" is yet another reference to Vitruvian theory, as the architect himself was at times obsessed with the idea of "squaring the circle."[69] Such concepts are supplemented by an underlying understanding of Appleton as, at least in some sense, representative of the human body. The "foreign architect" is said to "vault his brain" in a manner that mirrors the vaulted ceilings he designs. Even the geometry and mathematics that enable Appleton's design are related to human qualities, as the "holy mathematics" Marvell describes are said to "In ev'ry figure equal man" (48). Just as in classic Vitruvian theory, architecture comes to in some sense embody man, and takes on human characteristics in the process.

In addition to Appleton's geometric simplicity, Marvell draws attention to the relationship between Appleton and the natural environment. Beginning in a similar manner to Jonson's "To Penshurst," Marvell outlines the type of building that Appleton is not, writing that the viewer should not expect the work of "foreign Architect." (2). Of course, foreign in this instance carries a double-sense, as the word "architect" had only recently come into regular English usage; the architect himself could be foreign, but so too is the entire idea of architecture more generally. More interestingly than the architect's national origin, however, is the implicit comparison that Marvell makes between the architecture described in these early stanzas, and the perfection he sees in the natural world—and, consequently, Appleton. Where Marvell writes of a

[69] For an analysis of the way that Vitruvian theories of squares and circles interact, see Newman, John. "Inigo Jones's Architectural Education before 1614." pp. 18–50. In this study, Newman records the responses of Inigo Jones as they pertain to the geometric formulations of Vitruvius.

hypothetical building with high columns and a vaulted ceiling as the work of an architect, Appleton is described in starkly natural terms, as the building is likened to a "low-roofed tortoise." (13). Indeed, Marvell even goes so far as to directly compare Appleton to the natural world, writing "But all things are composed here/ Like Nature, orderly and near" (25-6). Like Penshurst, nothing at Appleton seems misplaced—everything works towards creating a picture of harmonious and coherent connection between the architecture of the house and nature.

Of course, a close reader of "Upon Appleton House" will notice that Appleton is not only coherent with its environment, but also expresses an internal coherence of design. Beginning with his complaint that men build "unproportioned dwellings," Marvell establishes Appleton minimalist design (10). Such "unproportioned dwellings" and "hollow palaces" are then compared to Appleton, whose "short but admirable" lines are a marked contrast to the buildings described to this point (20). Even the door of Appleton, in a line echoing Spenser's House of Holiness, is described as a "narrow loop" that forces those who enter to bow their heads in humility (30-2). The entire structure of Appleton is based around this theme, with low roofs, undecorated interiors, and geometric designs. Much like Penshurst, the reality of Appleton is thus subsumed not only by a historical overwriting of its troubled past, but also by an imposed order that draws on architectural language, and utilizes the building to represent a larger coherence that applies itself to the buildings tenants. Indeed, towards the conclusion of the poem, Marvell writes "[Fairfax's] lesser world contains the same,/ But in more decent order tame" (765-6). Thus Appleton is in some sense a microcosm for the world at large, but where Marvell writes of the world as a "rude heap together hurled," the order and coherence of Fairfax's house elevates Appleton above even the world itself (762).

Clearly, then, there is an observable pattern of architectural signification in the country house poem tradition. Architectural features, while often overlooked in favor of the kinds of "better marks" that Jonson describes, are meant to evoke a sense of coherence with the larger environment that is otherwise threatened by the buildings actual history. Architecture then plays a crucial role in shaping the reader's understanding of the house, and thus of its inhabitants as well. And while the role that architecture plays in metonymizing the houses owner is of interest to this study, it is arguably far more interesting to focus one's attention on the effect that this metonymy has on a portrayal of the subject. While Jonson and Marvell both follow a relatively straight-forward model in this description—a good, coherent house embodies a virtuous owner—the strategies of the country house poem can clearly be deployed in the description of any number of buildings. In fact, following in the vain of Jonson and Marvell's poems is John Milton's description of Pandemonium in *Paradise Lost*. A kind of country house poem unto itself, the 120-or-so odd lines towards the end of book 1 draw on the language and theory of architecture, while also making specific references to the tradition of the country house poem.

Of all the examples of Miltonic architecture—the Tower of Babel, the "high towers" of heaven, and the bridge that Sin and Death construct from Chaos to earth to name just a few—Pandemonium has attracted the largest body of scholarship by far (I.694; I.749; X. 301). Much of this work has been centered on uncovering Milton's influences, or at least in determining what exactly the architecture of Pandemonium is meant to indicate. For his part, William McClung sides with a vast body of criticism that has tended to see Pandemonium as influenced by St. Peter's Basilica or, at very least, by the baroque principles of design that Milton encountered in his visit to Rome and the Vatican.[70] Meanwhile, Amy Lee Turner has argued that the arched

[70] Mcclung, William A. "The Architecture of Pandaemonium." pp. 109–12.

ceiling of Pandemonium is indicative of a Gothic inspiration for the building, an architectural style typically seen in direct contrast with the neo-classical and baroque design of St. Peter's.[71] Others have taken Milton's assertion that Pandemonium is "built like a temple" to connect the structure with the Temple of Solomon, and still more have seen the architectural features of Pandemonium as influenced by the Tower of Babel.[72] Of course, the sheer number of buildings cited as inspirations for Pandemonium, and the vast differences between them, in some sense works to undermine such an argument for real world parallels altogether. Rather, it seems that the most direct influence on Pandemonium is not any specific building, but the English prodigy house more generally, and the tradition of the country house poem informs the design and description of Pandemonium throughout. Sharing some similarities, and also many differences, with houses like Appleton and Penshurst, Pandemonium essentially becomes the opulent prodigy house that Jonson indirectly describes in the opening 4 lines of "To Penshurst."

Like both Jonson and Marvell, Milton was clearly informed by a broad knowledge of Vitruvian architectural theory. To some extent, this knowledge was likely the product of Milton's early travels around the continent, and scholars who argue for St. Peter's Basilica as an influence on Milton's Pandemonium often point to the poets travel to and around Rome as a seminal moment for his architectural development.[73] Indeed, the language of continental and classical architecture is infused throughout Milton's description of Pandemonium, and it is difficult to imagine that the exposure to classical and Italian architecture did not influence Milton's own understanding of the art. For instance, the reference to "Doric pillars" is clearly

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[71] Amy Lee Turner, "Arts of Design, Milton and the," pp. 90-102.
[72] For an analysis of the similarities between Solomon's temple and Pandemonium, see Lyle, Joseph. "Architecture and Idolatry in 'Paradise Lost.'" pp. 139–55. For more on the Tower of Babel in *Paradise Lost*, see Blakemore, Steven. "Pandemonium and Babel: Architectural Hierarchy in 'Paradise Lost.'" pp. 142–45.
[73] Blakemore, Steven. "Pandemonium and Babel: Architectural Hierarchy in 'Paradise Lost.'" pp. 142–45.

drawing on Vitruvian theory, but also corrupting it. Where the Vitruvian Doric was seen as masculine, solid, and warlike, the Doric pillars in Pandemonium are ostentatiously covered in gold (I. 714-5). The addition of "cornice," "frieze" and "architrave" is further indicative of a level of architectural education, as each is a piece of the classical Vitruvian pillar—though the "golden" and elaborate designs that Milton describes would never be found on a Doric pillar (I. 714-716). In a similar set of contradictions, Milton also writes of Pandemonium's "pilasters round" (I. 713). Of course, a pilaster is actually, by definition, a decorative, rectangular pillar, so the notion of a rounded pilaster is inherently contradictory. Again, it seems that Milton is working out the inherent contradictions of his architecture in order to play up the decadence of Pandemonium, a building that becomes the literal embodiment of "both/and" philosophy, while also playing with the Vitruvian obsession for the "rounded square." In doing so, Milton demonstrates an attentive and learned understanding of architecture, that belies any potential critics who might hold these architectural contradictions against the author.

The difference, however, between Milton's own architectural confusion, and that of Spenser or Herbert, is that the strange architectural features of Pandemonium seem to cohere and hold together as a realistic structure in much the same manner as country house poems like "To Penshurst" or "Upon Appleton House." In fact, that Milton's Pandemonium is informed by the tradition of country house poems is evident through several features both the building and the language share with poems like those of Jonson or Marvell. First and perhaps most obviously, Milton writes of Pandemonium that the "roof was fretted gold," a detail that seems to be a direct reference to similar descriptions in country house poems like "To Penshurst" where Jonson writes of buildings with a "roof of gold." (I. 717; 3). Of course, the golden roof has a long precedent going back to Horatian satire and even Biblical sources that both poets were likely

drawing upon, but it is striking that the image of a golden roof should appear in both poems, and in conjunction with a number of other important details that point towards the country house genre.[74] The presence of Doric pillars in Pandemonium is yet another architectural feature that should recall the country homes of the period, as Jonson lambast the presence of "polish'd pillars" in other houses (3). And, of courses, where Jonson derides the tall "lantherns" of other country houses, Mulciber, the architect of Pandemonium, derives his fame from the tall towers he built in Heaven.

Similarly, a great deal of attention is paid to the grounds of Pandemonium, a focus that should recall similar attentions in both Penshurst and Appleton. Where Jonson joys in describing the "better marks" of Penshurst's Edenic rivers and fields, the description of Pandemonium's surroundings focuses on what Jeffrey Theis calls the "anti-pastoral" environment of hell.[75] Replacing the greenery and copse that Jonson describes in his poem is a hill with "grisly top," and the pleasant and the fresh air of Penshurst is transformed into "rolling smoke" and sulphur (I. 670-5). Far from the peaceful and pleasant nature of Penshurst, where wildlife naturally submits itself to slaughter and thereby elides violence altogether, the grounds of Pandemonium are the likened to a carcass torn open, a "spacious wound" in the "ribs" of mother earth (I. 686-9). Such disruptions to nature do not stand out in Hell, where there simply cannot exist the lush and Edenic setting that Jonson envisions for Penshurst. Similarly, the rivers of Penshurst that willingly offered carp and eels are semi-present in hell, but only as lifeless rivers of "liquid fire" that roll through the landscape (I.701). Again, the grounds of Pandemonium are a seeming nest

[74] James Freeman traces the history of golden roofs as they apply to the Miltonic usage in this instance, in "'The Roof Was Fretted Gold.'" pp. 254–66. By far, the two most important examples offered are those of Horace—who Jonson seems to be drawing on in his own poem—and the Temple of Solomon, which many have argued for as an inspiration for Pandaemonium. In both instances, the gold roof symbolizes vanity and decadence, and thus could apply to a wide range of buildings and scenarios.
[75] Theis, Jeffrey S. "Milton's Principles of Architecture." pp. 109.

of unnatural contradictions, but the individual elements all come together to form a coherent sense of corruption. Taken together, one finds the same "better marks" that Jonson upheld at Penshurst in the landscape surrounding Pandemonium, though they, too, are transformed and corrupted versions of those same materials offered by Jonson.

Even the structure of Pandemonium pays some homage to the country house poem tradition, as the doors "opening their brazen folds" reads similarly to Marvell's "stately frontispiece…the open door" at Appleton (I.723; 65-6). Furthermore, the focus on the "spacious hall" (I. 761) of Pandemonium is replicated in both Marvell and Jonson, with Jonson writing of the great hall where he sits for an extended meal at Penshurst (60-75), and Marvell describing the "swelling hall" at Appleton (51). Where Marvell writes of the architect who vaults both his building and his own brain, Milton describes the "arched rood/ Pendant by subtle magic" in Pandemonium (1-6; I.727-7). These designs play into a larger demonic impulse to build upward, one that Jonson and Marvell would likely view with suspicion. In fact, Milton hints at the spatial politics at play when he describes the golden roof of Pandemonium, as the gold roof recalls the pavement of Heaven "trodden gold" (I. 682). In this sense, the construction of Pandemonium is aspirational, reaching upwards and still only managing to emulate the floor of Heaven. That the golden roof is such a feature of country house poems, and is used to point towards excess and vanity, only reinforces the aspirational vanity of Satan and his fellow fallen angels.

Indeed, some of these similarities between Pandemonium and the more typical country house poems may register as a critique of the genre as a whole, again inverting and perverting the very tradition from which Pandemonium is derived. For example, where Jonson has been frequently accused of omitting the labor that goes into both building and sustaining Penshurst,

such a lack of labor seems much more fitting for Satan and the rest of the demons in hell.[76] When Pandemonium rises "out of the earth a fabric huge" this should in some sense recall the walls of Penshurst that are "rear'd with no man's ruine, no man's grone" (46). Even at Appleton, Marvell writes of the demolishing of the old convent, but no detail is given to the erection of the structure described. Of course, in the genre of the country house poem—one which purports to describe a real building—the criticism that these poets eliminate labor in favor of effortless harmony is understandable. In *Paradise Lost*, however, the lack of labor that goes into the construction of Pandemonium should stand out as odd. Even in Milton's Eden, the poet writes of Adam and Eve's "sweet gardening labor," and the Angels themselves are shown to have jobs guarding Eden (IV. 326). In these contexts, labor is set our as a good and honorable thing, the absence of which renders Pandemonium all the more suspect. Of course, here the lack of labor is not incidental—as it appears to be in Penshurst—but is again an intentional corruption of a generic staple meant to emphasize the perversity of Hell's architecture.

There are, however, minor but telling differences between the country house poem and Pandemonium, many of which seem to be deliberate inversions of the kind of structure described by the likes of Jonson or Marvell. At the most basic level, the very presence of an architect in Pandemonium is one such detail. As an artisan figure that is deliberately separated from the labor of production, the architect is naturally at home in a Pandemonium-like structure that seemingly arises directly out of the earth. For this reason, when Milton writes of Mulciber, "the architect…known/ In Heaven by many a towered structure high" it is not surprising to see an architect at the helm of such a building. This is absolutely not the case in Jonson and Marvell,

[76] For an analysis of the perceived elimination of peasant labor in the country house genre, see Williams, Raymond. *Country and City*. pp. 27-34. Williams is perhaps the most cynical reader of Jonson in particular, and his reading of Penshurst as a celebration of elitist and capitalistic forces over a repressed peasant class sticks out as one of the most forceful critiques of the genre.

who both go to great lengths in order to distance the construction of Penshurst and Appleton from any architect or even architectural principles. On Appleton, Marvell writes “expect/ Work of no foreign *architect*” (1-2, emphasis original). Here Marvell works to make the figure of architect doubly appalling by both contrasting him against the “sober frame” of Appleton, and also by impressing the foreign nature of architecture in the language itself, and by use of italics. Of course, as an outcast from Heaven, Mulciber is also foreign to Hell, and his construction seems at least somewhat in line with the vaulted building that Marvell imagines as the work of a “foreign architect.” In a similar fashion, Jonson works to establish Penshurst as a house that grew out of natural occupancy rather than the imposed and rigid planning an architect might bring to the site. Thus, where Mulciber is associated with the “high towers” of Heaven, Jonson explicitly rejects the high “lantern” of other country homes in his description of Penshurst (I. 749; 4).

The resulting stylistic difference between Penshurst and Appleton, and Pandemonium can thus be attributed, at least in part, to the presence of an architect during the construction in hell. Such attributions are reinforced by the presence of architectural features like “Doric pillars,” “cornices” and “friezes” in Pandemonium, and also by a general style that seems to run contradictory to the “short but admirable lines” of a building like Appleton. For example, where Marvell praises the “dwarfish confines” of Appleton, Milton writes of Pandemonium as a massive structure, with towers, courts, and vast halls (38). Pandemonium is also significant for being “built like a temple,” where Marvell goes to great lengths to distance private property in the form of Appleton house from the building past as a religious house (I. 713). Stylistically, Pandemonium has almost every component that Jonson rejects in the opening lines of “To Penshurst,” from “a row of polish’d pillars,” to towers, courts, and even a “roof of gold” (1-4). Even where Penshurst is called an “ancient pile,” Milton inverses the language, describing

Pandemonium as an "ascending pile" (5; I. 722). At every level of construction, from the physical act of building, to the features, design, and even the descriptive language used, Pandemonium clearly recalls the exact antithesis of the harmonious country house depicted in "Upon Appleton House" and "To Penshurst."

Of course, in the process of mirroring Penshurst and Appleton, Pandemonium also calls attention to its position as a political parallel to the country houses that dotted the English countryside during the 16th and 17th centuries. Much like the country house, Pandemonium is a decentralized locus of power, away from the central power and kingdom in Heaven. As John Adrians demonstrates, this sense of local power is incredibly important to any understanding of the country house poem, as English national identity was still very much secondary to more local understandings of identity and organization of power.[77] If Hell really is the "anti-pastoral" environment that Theis suggests, this makes the importance of Pandemonium as a power center in an otherwise pastoral environment doubly important. Under these circumstances, Pandemonium comes to resemble very much what Martin Elsky identifies as a "heraldic" competitor to more centralized and courtly powers, represented by God and Heaven in the poem.[78] Because Milton is able to so precisely replicate the style of the country house poem, and because the structure of Pandemonium coheres into a unified-if-perverse whole, Milton is able to draw on a long history of criticism directed towards the unnatural opulence of prodigy houses in a way that is obviously critical of Satan and Hell, but also of the country house tradition and even courtly politics more broadly. The country house poem, its architectural language and generic assumptions about realistic and coherent design, thus enables Milton not only to realize

[77] Adrian, John M. *Local Negotiations of English Nationhood, 1570-1680*. pp. 3.
[78] Elsky, Martin. "Ben Jonson's Poems of Place and the Culture of Land: From the Military to the Domestic." pp. 392–411.

the physical structure of Pandemonium, but also to invest it with a highly symbolic and coded language that metonymizes the landscape, inhabitant, builder, and history of the built environment.

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